1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

who practise in Secundrabad and Hyderabad, and a few even go to the well-equipped hospitals for prolonged treatment of difficult and persistent diseases. However, for the majority of the population the only medicines used for ordinary ailments are the inexpensive indigenous herbs and drugs which are locally available.

The local post office, under one of the village schoolmasters, serves Shamirpet and a large number of adjoining villages. The system of mail distribution in the countryside is very defective. Often the village postman takes a month or even more to reach a village on his periodic rounds. Letters are generally delivered personally to people who come to the post office for them, or they are handed to a co-villager who happens to visit the post office, for further transmission.

The police station at Shamirpet is in charge of a sub-inspector and has a strength of two head constables and twelve constables. This force is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the villages under its jurisdiction. The police keep an eye on all doubtful characters, organize regular patrols of the villages and through the subordinate officials keep themselves informed of local developments. Their official records register all births and deaths, which must be reported by the inhabitants of the village.

As the tank is more than a mile from the village, the people use well water for domestic purposes. In respect of wells, Shamirpet has been very unlucky. Out of a total of thirty-three wells within the village limits, there are only three which yield good, drinkable water, the water of all other wells being brackish and unpalatable. Most people are therefore able to use sweet water only for drinking and cooking, whilst clothes and household utensils are washed in brackish water. The outlying wards of the Malas and Madigas are more fortunate in this respect, for their wells, situated at a distance of about half a mile from their respective colonies, yield 'sweet' water. In the summer months there is often an acute scarcity of drinking water in the village, and at this time large crowds of women gather at the few sweet-water wells waiting patiently to fill their many brass and earthen pots. This time of enforced waiting is spent in gossiping, in exchanging news and often in relating the latest scandals.

The sanitation of the village is the responsibility of the Yetti Madigas, whose traditional duty it is to sweep the street and lanes; in return for the service, the government grants them the use of certain rent-free lands. 27

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

596 entitles him to maintain a controlling hand in domestic affairs. In the case of the head of the family also, much depends on the character and personality of the individual concerned. An irresponsible head who becomes a liability to the members of his family forfeits his claim to their obedience and respect, and in such cases the sympathy of the village people is generally given to the dissenting members of the family. Even after separation [527] it is good form to treat the elders with courtesy and respect. On the occasions of family reunions, such as those connected with the crises of life or with the annual offering of water to the spirits of the deceased, it is the eldest member of the family who occupies the dominant position. In general, even after separation his help is sought in cases of disease and difficulty, and in all matters involving priority of one or the other, preference is always given to the elder. The exact position of the head of the family would, however, vary according to the equations of different families, with which we propose to deal later.

622 The Deshmukh also figures at the head of the government or semi-government village officials, whose relative positions can be arranged in a tabular form as follows:

[625]

DESHMUKH
[Combining the offices of Mali Patel and Police Patel]

Sub-Inspector of Police
Head Constables
Masters
Constables

Patwari

FOURTEEN VILLAGE MENIALS

i. Kawalkar	viii. Kammari
ii. Talari	ix. Kummari
iii. Majkuri	x. Sakali
iv. Neerudi	xi. Mangali
v. Begari	xii. Ausula
vi. Yetti	xiii. Dappu
vii. Wadla	xiv. Kommu

622 625 465 The Deshmukh is the recognized headman of the village. Two hundred and ten acres of rent-free land, the normal revenue of which would have been Rs. 556/6/-, have been granted to him by the State. He also formally holds the offices of Mali Patel and Police Patel; in the former capacity he assists the government officials in the collection of land revenue, in the latter he helps the police in the maintenance of law and order. The Deshmukh used to cultivate the rent-free land earmarked by the government for persons working in these two capacities, but he had delegated his powers

and functions to agents who acted for him. Now he gets a certain percentage of the total revenue collected in the village in lieu of the rent-free land. Thus, theoretically, the Deshmukh is both Mali Patel and Police Patel; but in actual practice these duties are carried out by his agents. In his capacity as Mali Patel of the village the Deshmukh takes steps to ensure the speedy collection of land revenue after each harvest and remits it to the district treasury. The Patwari can seek his assistance in matters connected with the land records and revenue of the village. For this he gets annually 5% of the total land revenue collected in the village. As Police Patel the Deshmukh is entitled to receive another 5% of the revenue collected during the year. In this capacity he has to send regular reports to the police regarding the occurrence of any crime in the village, keep an eye on the 'bad characters' and watch the activities of suspicious strangers. He maintains records of births and deaths in the village. It is his duty to assist the police in all possible ways in their investigations regarding criminal offences in the village. The other officials, such as the sub-inspector of police, head constables, constables and schoolmasters, are not a permanent part of the local population, and as such they do not generally get mixed up in local politics and other affairs. The police officials enjoy both prestige and power and are, in general, greatly feared by the people.

The Patwari, in spite of the fact that he is a petty revenue and land records official, occupies a pivotal position in the village and plays a very significant part in local politics. Being in charge of the land records, he can manipulate things both to the advantage and disadvantage of landowners, who often consult him and ask his advice. Of Patwaris in general it is said, 'What will they not do for a consideration? Give them money and they will prove their own father a bastard.' The present Patwari of Shamirpet is, for one in his position, a man of more than average intelligence and is himself a careful and substantial cultivator who owns some 247 acres of land jointly with his brother. He receives no salary from the government, nor does he have any rent-free land, but a certain percentage of the total land revenue is fixed by the government as his remuneration for the work.

All villages in Hyderabad State, as do most of those of middle and peninsular India, have a number of village menials. Their functions in the internal organization of the village are of two

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624 465 kinds: routine duties in the everyday life of the village and special duties connected with the arrangements which have to be made for touring government officials arriving in the village. The division of work among these village menials follows in the main the traditional occupations of the different castes. Payment for their work is often nominal. Some of them are paid small monthly salaries; others are granted small fields free of land revenue; while still others supplement their earnings by collecting their 'dues' from the agriculturists of the village at the time of harvesting.

Of the fourteen *kamgars* or village menials, six persons holding four different categories of posts are paid a salary of Rs. 3 per month. The rest enjoy small fragments of rent-free land in return for their part-time government duties. The Kawalkar is responsible for keeping a watch on the village and for patrolling it at night. He must assist the police and the Police Patel in the prevention and detection of crime. He should immediately bring to the notice of the Police Patel any criminal act, epidemic and births and deaths that occur in the village. When required by officers he must carry government mail and revenue remittances. In general it is his duty to assist the touring government officials in their work. He is aided in these tasks by the Talari and the Majkuri. These two menials perform similar functions. The Talari must fetch water for touring officials. The Majkuri must report all relevant matters to the police and to the Deshmukh. The present Kawalkar belongs to the Reddi caste, and the Talari is a Muttarasi. Both the Majkuris are untouchable Malas. The work of carrying government correspondence and money remittances as well as that of patrolling the village falls to the lot of these two Majkuris. At present there are three Neerudis in the village, two of whom are Malas and one a Madiga. It is their duty to look after the tank bund, particularly to keep a watch on the flood-gates and report any damage or suspected foul play. They should also periodically check the water-level in the tank and keep the superior village officers informed. The three Neerudis hold together seven acres of rent-free wet land granted to them by the government. The present Begari belongs to the Mala caste; and besides holding this petty menial position, he is a grave-digger by profession. His main duty is to keep clean the village rest-house, which is used by occasional travellers and officials of low status. He is expected to light fires there during winter evenings, and generally sleeps there at

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night. Dogs, cats and donkeys dying in the village have to be disposed of by him, for the Madigas only deal with dead cattle and will have nothing to do with other carcases. The Yettis in Shamirpet are from the Sakali and the Madiga castes. The Sakali Yettis do most of the superior kinds of menial work, such as carrying the baggage of touring government officials who would not allow their luggage to be carried by the untouchable Madigas; while the Madiga Yettis have to do all sorts of odd jobs of an inferior nature. They may be required to patrol the village, to keep watch on government buildings and to sweep and clean the village occasionally. They are also required to bring fuel for the use of touring government officials. The Yettis are not paid any salary for their work, and the nominal payments made to them by touring officials bear no proportion to the work done by them. The rest of the village menials are occupational caste groups, also performing some semi-government duties. The Wadla, for example, must repair the flood-gates of the tank, attend to the repairs of furniture and other woodwork in government offices, repair the central flag post in the village and supply free of charge or on nominal payment the pegs required for fixing the tents of touring government officials. When required the Kammari do iron work for the government officials. The Kummari has to supply earthen pots for use on public occasions or for the use of touring government officials. The Sakali cleans the kitchen utensils and plates of touring government officials, washes their clothes and carries their baggage to the next camp. The Mangali lights the lamps in the village rest-house, shaves touring officials and massages their bodies if they require this service. The Ausula has the duty of examining, when required to do so, coins which are believed to be counterfeit. He has also to help the police in weighing stolen ornaments and in making estimates of their approximate market price. Finally, the Dappu and the Kommu, who are both Madigas, play their drums and pipes respectively on public occasions. They make all public announcements by the beat of drum and are, like the Yetti, often required to do other menial work as well.

3. INTER-CASTE AND INTER-VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

The village is a territorial unit, the smallest but most significant among territorial groups in the social organization of the village

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the shopkeeper and are willing to pay slightly higher prices. They advance money to the people for buying bullocks and agricultural implements. A mortgage is not insisted upon in all cases, but the rate of compound interest which they charge is often exorbitant. The Komtis also advance seed grain to the people. For this, too, they charge a heavy interest. Loans are often taken by people against the mortgage of land or a part of the crops, depending upon the sum of money which they borrow. In Shamirpet the Komtis seem to be the only caste whose monopoly has been seriously affected by the change of times. To-day Shamirpet has in all thirteen shops. If we do not take into account some of the petty shops, four of these belong to Komtis, two to Muslims, two to Toddy-tappers and one to a goldsmith. Even in the field of advancing cash and seeds for agricultural purposes, the Komtis have to face the competition of some of the comparatively rich Reddi and Muslim cultivators.

THE KUMMARI

In Shamirpet there are five families of potters, with fourteen people actually working at the wheel. Each family is attached to some agriculturists in the village, and it periodically supplies them with a certain number of earthen pots for domestic use. Every two or three years they also supply the agriculturists with large baked earthen bins for storing grain. For this they do not expect a cash price. At the time of harvesting the potter visits the fields of the family to which he is attached, and is given *bheek-bali*, that is his share of the new crop. The quantity of grain that is given away depends on the size of the land cultivated, and also partly on the owner's financial circumstances. On the occasion of rituals connected with birth, marriage or death a supply of new pots is expected from him. Tradition has prescribed the minimum payment required for these services, although on happy occasions people often give a little more. If he can arrive at an agreement with the other occupational castes, such as the barber, the washerman and the weaver, he will offer them his services in return for their occupational services to his family. The details are fixed by the parties concerned, and often considerable haggling and making of charges and counter-charges against one another go on. Notwithstanding this, the system works quite satisfactorily, for out of forty-four cases of such mutual arrangements studied very

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or in kind. In the course of a long ceremony, two or three times they may get money, twice or thrice some grain or a few brass or bell-metal utensils, and ultimately a set of new clothes. Like the other castes, the barber and the washerman also work independently outside the system of these traditional arrangements.

OTHER CASTES

Before describing the system of family affiliation between the Madiga untouchables and the agriculturists, brief mention should be made of the other castes in the village.

There is only one family of Katike (Hindu butchers) in the village. In point of social status this family ranks equal to the Kapu group. The head of the family slaughters goats and sheep and sells meat to the villagers. The Muslims slaughter their goats and sheep separately or buy their requirement of beef from the market in the city. Shamirpet is largely a Hindu village, and partly out of regard for the sentiments of the majority community, and partly to avoid trouble, the Muslims do not slaughter cows in the village.

The solitary family of the Darzi (tailor) with an old sewing machine is obviously a new addition to the population of the village. Even by modest city standards the abilities of this tailor in his craft must be regarded as rather crude. Yet he has a fairly good business in the village. Except for the well-to-do people, and a few others who maintain regular contact with the city, all others either buy cheap ready-made clothes, or they get their tailoring done by this man in the village, who also attracts considerable custom from nearby villages.

The families of Vaddars (stone-workers) always have sufficient work, either in Shamirpet itself or in some of the neighbouring villages. Those who can afford a house of a superior type have it built of stone. Use of bricks is very rare in this part of the country and thus practically all substantial houses in the village are of stone. The rocky surroundings of the village provide an ample supply, and the Vaddars, adept in the traditional technique of breaking and shaping stone, turn it into a useful building material. Because of their crude technique the work of the Vaddars is very hard indeed and entails considerable physical exertion. Payment for this work is generally on the basis of piece wages. In the busy agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also on extra wages.

agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also for extra wages.

The Erkalas earn their livelihood through a variety of means. The menfolk are hunters. They are also adept in the use of snares and traps. They train hunting dogs and use them effectively for chasing and tracking wounded animals. When they succeed in getting some game, they retain a part of it for their domestic consumption and sell the rest to the villagers. The women beg in the countryside by singing songs and narrating legends. They also do some fortune-telling. Family earnings are supplemented by basket-making, a task at which both men and women work. They also rear pigs.

THE MADIGAS

The Madigas are the lowest caste in Shamirpet. Economically they constitute the poorest section of the community. While the Malas, who are also untouchables but a degree higher than the Madigas, either cultivate their own land or work as farm labourers for daily wages, the Madigas affiliate themselves to the households of the substantial agriculturists in the village. According to the size of the land-holding of the cultivator, one or more Madiga families permanently attach themselves to him. At every stage of agricultural operations during the year the attached Madiga, and his wife and children, work in the fields of their master. They are not paid any daily wages. After the crops are harvested they have to go and 'beg' in the master's fields or threshing grounds. The conventions of the community have prescribed the rates of payment, mostly on the basis of the area of land under cultivation and the yield during the particular harvest. Thus for a certain area a basic minimum must be given; but if on account of good crops the yield has been high it is expected that the affiliated Madiga family would be given a proportionately larger share. In former times there used to be considerable compulsion, and, being in no position to protest, the Madigas had to slave for their masters, who could be quite ruthless. If the master was kind and considerate, they regarded it as their good luck. On the whole it was advisable for them to tolerate even a bad master, for any protests or refusal to do the allotted work on their part would eventually have meant their being forced to leave the village. Now, of course, conditions have changed, and Madigas do not any longer put up with indig-

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nities, unreasonable harshness in behaviour or rough handling. Payments differ on the basis of the quality and quantity of work they turn out, and also partly on the nature and temperament of the employer. Slow and lazy workers are paid the barest minimum, while the experienced and the efficient earn much more. In the words of a Madiga, 'If we do not work well, who will pay us? If we do very little work and that too badly, we get what we deserve in the end. If we do not work well we cannot afford to be sensitive; we have to be thick-skinned to stand the abuse of our master. But if we work hard and earn our wages by the sweat of our brow, the master has to treat us well.' To quote another informant: 'Some masters are large-hearted. They make us work hard, but they feed us well. Others expect us to work like oxen, but when it comes to feeding us they dole out mere handfuls as if we were little calves. They always grumble and curse, but when it is time for making payment to us they seem to forget that we too must have a morsel to fill our bellies and a yard of cloth to cover our bodies.' In addition to what the Madiga families get by 'begging' at the time of harvesting, during the busy agricultural season they are fed once a day by the master. According to convention, the master should give a new cloth once every year to each individual from the attached Madiga family who has worked in his fields.

Very few Madigas possess any land worth mentioning, and therefore independent cultivation by them is almost negligible. But they have several other additional means of subsistence open to them. They have to dispose of the dead cattle in the village. As they do not refrain from carrion, this constitutes one source of food supply for them. They are also entitled to get one half of the hide of the dead animal; the other half belongs to the owner. From the owner's share of the hide the Madigas have to make for him such leather articles as he may require for agricultural purposes. Several Madiga families cure hides and work in leather; others earn a part of their living by playing drums and pipes at ceremonial occasions.

2. AGRICULTURE

The settled area of Shamirpet, including the two neighbouring hamlets, is spread over an area of 58 acres. Out of this Shamirpet proper occupies 31·4 acres. In the land surrounding the settlement,

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511 426 Analysis of the family budgets of the agriculturists in the village revealed that 10% of them were surplus, 24% were balanced and the rest were deficit budgets. Exact figures regarding the extent of indebtedness could not be obtained as the people invariably sought to conceal information on this subject. According to our rough estimate, 55% to 60% of the families are indebted. As relatively few persons can get agricultural or land improvement loans from the government at a reasonable rate of interest, and as there is no co-operative society in the village, most people have to take recourse to the money-lenders either in the village or, preferably, in a neighbouring one. Petty loans may be obtained from well-to-do shopkeepers and peasants. The rate of interest varies greatly. For large loans a mortgage is generally insisted upon, and anything between 6% and 12% compound interest is charged. For petty loans interest is charged at the rate of 2 annas per rupee per month. If ornaments or other valuables are pawned, the rate of interest is reduced even for the smaller loans. Borrowing in kind also takes place. Seeds are often obtained on loan, and are returned after the harvest with 25% interest. In several cases the indebtedness of the family could be attributed to over-spending in socio-religious ceremonies and litigation rather than to agricultural needs.

241 432 The organization of agricultural pursuits rests mainly on the head of the family, although grown-up sons—if they are living with the parents—are also consulted. When buying or selling land the advice of the elders of the extended family is always obtained. This has to be done before mortgaging family property against loans. The scope for individual initiative and innovations is very limited, for the system of agriculture still largely follows the traditional patterns and is governed to a great extent by the agricultural lore passed from generation to generation through oral tradition.

241 465 Most agriculturists can manage the cultivation of their fields with the help of family labour. The traditional system on inter-caste relations secures for them the specialized services of the occupational castes. The more well-to-do landowners have Madiga families attached to them. However, the migration of some Madiga families and concentration of considerable areas of land in the possession of a few families make it almost essential for many agriculturists to employ additional labour. In the busy season even

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ordinary cultivators have to employ casual labour. The rates of daily wages have now increased considerably. In 1939 a male labourer was paid 3 to 6 annas a day, while a woman was paid 2 to 4 annas. In 1951, men were paid between 1 rupee and 1 rupee 8 annas per day, while the women got 8 to 12 annas per day. Rich landowners employ labourers on the basis of an annual contract also. Rates of payment vary with the age, ability and experience of the person employed; and also partly with the financial position of the employer. According to our statistics wages differ from Rs. 280 to Rs. 120 per year, and may be paid in cash or kind. Depending on the agreement the employee may be paid a cash monthly salary, or he may be paid a part in cash and a part in grain. Very often the agreement includes the following in the wages for the year: an agreed sum at the end of the year, one or two meals a day or a specified quantity of grain every week, and a set or two of new clothes and footwear or a blanket. As a rule advances are drawn from time to time, and when they exceed the stipulated sum the labourer has to agree to work the following year also to repay the debt.

3. THE AGRICULTURAL YEAR

The agriculturists in Shamirpet follow the local almanac. Most of their moves in farm activity depend upon the position of the stars in the sky. According to this almanac a month is divided into two *katis*, each with a duration of approximately fifteen days. Each of these divisions bears a name which indicates a particular position of the stars. According to the traditional agricultural lore of the people the different *katis* are suitable for different kinds of agricultural activities and provide the agriculturist with a schedule for the different stages of his work in the field. Of course, he also takes into consideration other natural factors, such as the possibility of rainfall in the immediate future; but in general his moves follow the time-tested schedule of the Hindu calendar. Muslim agriculturists too follow this calendar and share with their Hindu neighbours their agricultural folklore.

In late summer (i.e. the end of May) the agriculturists keep their fields clear for ploughing in anticipation of a light shower of rain. Invariably there is some rainfall during this period which softens the ground and makes it possible for them to start ploughing. With the advent of this eagerly awaited drizzle the farmers

755 776 782 [465] worship among the Hindus and called *kunkuma*.[1] The cooked rice is put in front of the pot of toddy and bottle of arrack, a ram is killed in sacrifice, and then the toddy-drawer worships the pot and the bottle. The village officials pay him his fee, three-eighths of a measure of rice, three-eighths of a measure of *cholam*[2] and four annas, and then he carries the pot and bottle in procession, and places them under the canopy near the image of Peddamma. Then comes yet another procession. The people go off to the house of the chief official, the Reddy, and bring from it some cooked rice in a large earthenware pot, some sweet cakes, and a lamb. A large quantity of margosa leaves are spread on the ground in front of the image, the rice from the Reddy's house is placed upon them in a heap, and a large heap of rice, from one hundred to three hundred measures, according to the amount of the subscriptions, is poured in a heap a little farther away.

All these elaborate proceedings form only the preparations for the great sacrifice, which is now about to begin. The lamb is first worshipped and then sacrificed by having its throat cut and its head cut off. A ram is next brought and stood over the first large heap of rice, and is there cut in two, through the back, with a heavy chopper, by one of the village washermen. The blood pours out over the rice and soaks it through. One half of the ram is then taken up and carried to a spot a few yards off, where a body of Asādis are standing ready to begin their part in the ceremonies. The other half of the ram is left lying on the rice. The Asādis then begin to sing a long chant in honour of the deity. Meanwhile, the chief sacrifice is made. The buffalo is brought forward, and the Mādigās kill it by cutting its throat (in some villages its head is cut off). Some water is first poured over the blood, and then the pool of blood and water is covered up carefully with earth, lest any outsider from another

[1] Made of turmeric mixed with lime.
[2] A coarse grain, the staple food of the villagers.

4 [ie, the toddy-drawer--Analyst]

647 the executive officer could participate and discuss in the meetings
642 of the Panchayats, he had no right of voting or moving any Resolution.

647 There were three grades in the pay scales of the executive
465 officers. The 1st grade Panchayats were those with an income of Rs. 20,000/- or above; they had executive officers on a pay of Rs. 80/- to Rs. 100/-. The 2nd grade Panchayats with income of Rs. 10,000/- to 20,000/- had their executive officers on a scale of Rs. 65/- to Rs. 80/- whereas the 3rd grade Panchayats with income of Rs. 5,000/- to Rs. 10,000/- paid Rs. 50/-to Rs. 65/- per mensum to their executive officers. These officers were directly recruited, trained and sent to the Panchayats by the Inspector of Local Boards except in a few cases where clerks from District Boards were also promoted as executive officers.

647 The executive officer and the Panchayat had an irreconcilable
623 hostility as a general rule. This had been the lot of most Panchayats, since legislation did not definitely describe their relative position and responsibilities.

The minor Panchayats had no executive officers. They had usually either part-time clerks or village teachers as their executives. In some places, the clerk of the cooperative society was also the executive of the Panchayat. There was no uniform practice in this regard among the minor Panchayats. In any contemplated reform the position of the executive with regard to the minor Panchayats too, must be finally decided.

Previous to the appointment of the executive officer, the appointment of the establishment personnel was entirely a concern of the President and the members of the Panchayat. But, since his appointment, the recruitment of the staff was handed over to him and he was to appoint the clerks, bill collectors, mistries, sanitary inspectors, and overseers, subject to the consent of the departmental heads concerned. This method had been devised to save the Panchayat staff, from being entirely at the mercy of the members of the Panchayat, who would have appointed them today and dismissed them tomorrow or forced them to become parties to village politics, supporting one party against the other. To keep up the integrity of the Panchayat, the services were now provincialised, and the staff members could also be transferred from one Panchayat to another.

income of Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000 per annum, the 2nd grade with an income from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 and 3rd grade with an income of upto Rs. 10,000. Panchayats with Rs. 5,000 income were classified as minor Panchayats. The first 3 were called the major Panchayats and they had executive officer, while minor Panchayats had no executive officers. 623 652

Grades of the Executive Officers: The grade of the executive officer in the 1st grade Panchayats was from Rs. 80 to Rs. 100, of 2nd grade Panchayats from Rs. 60 to Rs. 80 and of 3rd grade Panchayats from Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. They were the servants of the Provincial Government working under the Local Boards. The Panchayats could not have any control over their executives. The executive officer was the chief executive of the Panchayat. He was to guide the Board in constitutional matters, put the resolutions before it for discussion and execute them according to its decision. He attended the meetings of the Panchayat, but was not allowed to vote. He was liable for transfer to any place in the Province. This meant a great hardship as the salary paid to him was too meagre to enable him to live in far off places from his native town. His pay, travelling allowance, dearness allowance and contributions to provident fund were all met by the Panchayat and the State Government paid nothing towards his maintenance. 647 [1465] 623

Executive Officer and the Staff: The executive officer had under him a number of people like the sanitary inspector, the mistries, the supervisor for public works, vaccinators, compounders, midwives, bill collectors, not to speak of the clerical staff and menial staff like the scavengers, thotties, sweepers, lighters, peons, watchmen, etc. He was the appointing authority for staff beneath the clerical grade. The posts of the sanitary inspectors and overseers were advertised by him. They were to be appointed and paid by Panchayat with the approval and sanction of the District Health Officer and the District Engineer. But administratively they were subordinate to the executive officer and had to carry out the duties allotted to them by him. The sanitary inspector would have to look to matters of village sanitation, vaccination, administration of D. N. O. Licenses slaughter houses, clearance of sewage water, cleansing of gutters, cleansing of private and public latrines, etc. Similarly the overseer had to look to the execution of the public works all subject to the general supervision of the executive officer. 624 647

Executive Officers and Panchayat Boards: As a fact, the executive officers and the Panchayat Boards had a very strange relation. The executive officers were a much hated and an unhappy lot in the 647 623 578

C. **Functions**: Table No. 24. 311

Watch: The appointment and pay of the watchers was usually left entirely to the discretion of the Forest Panchayat President and members. Very often the pay per month varied from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12, rarely a watcher was paid Rs. 20 or above. There were instances where he was paid only Rs. 6. 465

In Vizagapatam Bayyavaram Forest Panchayat maintained 3 watchers on a monthly pay of Rs. 10 each. In Pedapalli Forest Panchayat of the same district, there were watchers but each got Rs. 6 per month. In Gokivada Forest Panchayat of the same district the pay of the watcher was Rs. 8.

In Anantapur Dhemaketupalli Forest Panchayat paid Rs. 15 to each of its watchers. In Kurnool East Ramalkota Forest Panchayat paid one watcher Rs. 12 per month and another Rs. 14 p. m. In Jonnagiri, the watcher was paid Rs. 16 p. m.

In Bellary, the pay of the watcher similarly varied from one Forest Panchayat to another.

Lease Amount: The most important item of expenditure in the budget of the Forest Panchayats was the lease amount as it would be noticeable from the table. This depended partly on the extent of the forest area and consequently on the number of coups filled up. 311 652

After these two main items of expenditure i. e. the pay and dress of the watchers and the lease amount paid to the Government, what remained was not very often adequate to spend for the functions extended to the Forest Panchayats, as for instance, maintenance and repair of cairns, the preservation of fuel reserves, the protection of forest from illicit grazing, fire, etc. The paucity of funds was in general responsible for the unsatisfactory nature of the Forest Panchayats in most instances.

The working of the Forest Panchayats in the Ceded Districts was far superior to the working of the Forest Panchayats in any other part of the Presidency. There were of course various levels observable. 311

In Vizagapatam, for instance, they were notorious for their backwardness.

Plantation: Plantation of trees, development of nurseries, repairs of ponds and reconstruction of cairns were the duties which few Panchayats could either afford or care to undertake and finish. Accordingly we found some Forest Panchayats with good finances and doing good work, some with good finances and still doing bad work, 311 313

 [See p. 218, category 316.—Analyst]

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242 [782] The people think that these are all visitations of goddesses and accordingly offer a sheep, or pig, or a white hen or cock as a sacrifice.

232 *Cattle diseases—Kurama.*—The ox or cow when it suffers from this refuses food, shivers, suffers as from cold. *Domma*—Shivering, swelling of the stomach and purging. *Chalidomma*—Swelling starts at some portion of the body, extends to the neck and proves fatal. *Nalupu jadyam*—Purging and dying. *Gundasala*—The heart bursts in this. *Musara*—Ulceration all over and refusal of food.

Medicines are prepared out of omum, assafœtida, turmeric, pepper, onions and like articles and some medicinal herbs found in woods and forests.

Up till now no assistance has been given by the Agricultural department.

313 Fuel is obtained from the jungle near by. Wood for building and implements is obtained from the Avulapalle forest, a magnificent forest abounding in good game, belonging to the zamindari itself. The distance from here is about a dozen miles.

342 *The village.*—The depressed castes live in circular thatched huts. Everything is dirty inside and out. The dwelling is circular consisting of but one room which serves for all purposes. Generally the diameter of the house is about 22 feet.

There are thirty houses in the caste village; three are terraced, none tiled, one earthen-roofed, all the rest thatched.

[437] The ryots occasionally exchange lands to get their lands continuous. Field huts are used only at harvest time.

463 [286] *Subsidiary industries.*—There are no weavers at all now. Handspinning was once practised when cotton was raised locally, but abandoned about thirty-five years ago, because cotton is no longer raised.

465

Crafts.	Working time.	Earnings.	Remarks.
Blacksmith ...	About 75 per cent.	Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 per annum.	He does not work every month. It is at harvest times that he gets manuls called *thirijanu* and *mera*. These amount to about three or four putties; 1 putti = 160 Madras measures [i.e., 400 lb.—Ed.]
Dommara ...	Almost always.	Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 per annum.	Makes wooden combs.
Potter	Do.	Rs. 70 or Rs. 80 per annum.	Not only sells to others, but also gets the same manuls as the blacksmith from the ryots at harvest time.

438 *Village trade.*—Wood required for agricultural and industrial purposes is purchased in the forests belonging to the zamindari above mentioned. Iron implements are purchased in Punganur, or Chouldepalli.

The nearest market is Kandur, a village 3 miles off.

Whatever is grown in the village and required for household purposes is retained by the villagers. The rest is all sold.

361 489 There is a local road which passes by this village running from Somala to Kalikiri. This local road connects with the trunk road running from Punganur to Chandragiri. The nearest railway

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station is Kalikiri, at a distance of 10 miles. The nearest commercial centres are Kandur and Kalikiri, where grain, tamarind and jaggery are sold in large quantities.

Economic condition.—The customary rates of wages are—in money—men 3 annas per day; women 2 annas per day; in kind—three measures of paddy or ragi per day and a small quantity of food in the afternoon. The measure is half a Madras measure.*

Or a man may be given two annas and a meal.

Current prices—

Rice	...	...	8 local measures for a rupee
Ragi	...	...	10 " "
Sazzulu	...	...	10 " "
Cholam	...	...	9 " "
Tamarind	...	...	As. 2–6 per viss.*
Jaggery	...	...	As. 6 "
Chillies	...	...	As. 8 "

The village debt is estimated at Rs. 2,000.

There have been no good rains for the past three or four years and consequently there have been successive failures of crops. The ryot has therefore been obliged to borrow money for buying bulls, and grain, and to enable him to pay his rent. For these reasons there is much indebtedness in the village.†

There are only two families who have liberated themselves to a small extent from debt once incurred.

There is no Co-operative Credit Society.

Wet lands sell at Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,000 per acre, dry lands at Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. It is only recently that the prices have gone up. Formerly they were selling at a lower rate, the maximum rate being about Rs. 500 per acre. The rise in price is due to the fact that there are more ryots than land and demand is unsatisfied.

Expenditure on religious festivals.—At one annual festival, called Paleti Gangamma Jathara, about Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 are spent. Nothing has been spent on new temples in recent years and no advantage is taken of the Agricultural Loans Act.

Sanitary condition.—Neither malaria, cholera, plague nor small-pox are prevalent. For ordinary ailments people get themselves treated by two native doctors in Kandur, two others in Somala at a distance of 4 miles and one other there in the village itself. For more serious diseases people have recourse to the hospitals at Sodam at a distance of 12 miles, or at Vayalpad or Piler, at distances of about 20 miles.

Though there are two Muhammadan families they do not observe purdah.

Night-soil is not allowed to accumulate in the village, but the sullage water is allowed to sink into the ground in every house. In some houses there are cesspools where this collects, and pollutes the air around.

For drinking purposes water is got out of a well about half a furlong from the end of the village nearest to it. For other domestic purposes, only two houses, one Brahman and one Kapu, have wells in their backyards. All the others get water from the well above mentioned for all purposes. The water in the two wells mentioned is brackish.

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* It follows that one local measure of paddy weighs about 1¼ lb.; of rice, ragi, sazzalu or cholam about 1¾ lb. A viss in Madras is a little over 3 lb.—Ed.

† In 1917 there were good rains—vide under Gownipalle, Festivals.

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implements are bought chiefly in Chintamani, about 18 miles off, and also at Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off. 438

Articles of consumption are bought at the weekly fair held here on Tuesdays, also in Chintamani, Kothakota and some other places.

Sale of village produce.—The quantities produced here are: paddy 500 puttis,* ragi 200, † sugarcane to the value of about Rs. 1,500, other millets and pulses to the value of about Rs. 1,000. 433 [804]

Out of this whatever is required for household purposes is retained. The rest, more than 50 per cent, is sold away. The nearest market is Chintamani. Sometimes the grain is transported to Bangalore also.

There are about three local roads, one from Gownipalle to Addegal, a village 4 miles off, one from the village to Manchinillakota, a village 6 miles off, and the other up to Todigol, 6 miles off. Another short road running for three miles runs up to the Mysore frontier. On the other side is British territory and there is no road further up. The local road to Tadigol connects with the Bangalore-Cuddapah road. The nearest commercial centres are Chintamani and Bangalore, accessible by the said road. The nearest railway station is Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off, reached by road. 491 361 [498]

The fair that takes place here every week is a big affair. People from very different parts come here. The fair is nominally held on Tuesday, but it generally extends from Monday to Wednesday. The chief business is carried on in stock, especially sheep and goats. Business in these is carried on to the extent of Rs. 4,000. They are chiefly sent to the Kolar Goldfields for slaughter and consumption. 543 438

Economic condition of village.—The customary rates of wages, in money, are from 2 to 3 annas per day, for a man; and 1½ annas for a woman; in kind, 2 seers of ragi, or 3 seers of paddy to a man, 1½ seers of ragi or 2 seers of paddy to a woman. 465

The current prices of staple foods are— 435

Rice	...	..	...	8 Mysore seers for a rupee.
Ragi	...	...	...	28 " "
Sazzulu	...	...	...	20 " "
Cholam	...	...	...	14 " "
Tamarind	...	...	...	Re. 1 for a maund.
Jaggery	...	...	...	Rs. 2 "
Chillis	...	...	...	Rs. 4-8-0 "
Dhôll	...	...	...	8 seers for a rupee.

About four or five families have made savings to the extent of Rs. 5,000, but on the other hand others have contracted debts to the extent of Rs. 10,000. Owing to scarcity of rains and failure of crops the people have been obliged to borrow heavily to meet current and occasional expenses. 454 426

There are practically no families who have liberated themselves from debt. While paying off old scores they borrow in new places.

There is a co-operative credit society. The capital is subscribed in shares of Rs. 10 each payable in twenty monthly instalments. 453

* [Weight about 89 tons, value about Rs. 10,000.—Ed.]
† [Weight about 48 tons, value about Rs. 4,000.—Ed.]

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together on the northern and north-east sides of the village. On the northern side, but apart from the village, crowded together in irregular muddy streets of obnoxious smell are the houses of the washermen (70 houses) and the toddy-drawing class (150 in number). All are thatched with palmyra leaves. It is difficult to go into the midst of these huts because of the bad smell.

There are 271 houses in the caste village according to official information, actually 350; 125 in the paracheri.

The village is rather crowded and there is no space for gardens. There is much demand for building sites. There are extensions on the north and south sides into the fields. Some houses contain even two or three families crowded together. From Rs. 2 to 3 per square yard is paid for house-sites. Some of the cultivated land is distant 5½ miles from the home of the cultivator. A hereditary disposition to hate changes, as well as party feelings, and suspicions of inequalities, prevent the ryots from exchanging to get their land continuous. Field huts are used, but mostly for the working seasons only, and are not permanent.

Subsidiary industries.—At the time of the 1891 census there were 69 weavers; in 1901, 17; in 1911, 12; now there are only three. Foreign yarn of 10, 20 and 40 Nos. is purchased from fairs held at Nidadavolu, four miles off. The cloth woven is a very rough sort, used by the very poor classes; 75 per cent of the people prefer and use foreign goods. The implements are of the ordinary country type and of primitive nature. There is no co-operation among the weavers. They are unable to face the mill competition. As they find little demand for their goods, they are frequently forced to go away as agricultural labourers, and practise weaving only as a hobby for leisure hours. A weaver with five sons, as a rule, sends four of them to agricultural work and only one to his own industry. Till 10 years back 95 per cent of the population used to wear the village cloth. Now 75 per cent prefer and use foreign clothing. Two weaving families recently went to Rajahmundry as factory coolies. Ten years ago, many women of low castes used to practise handspinning. A little cotton was grown in the village up to 1912, but latterly it was sold for higher prices than the spinners could pay.

Economic condition of the village—Rates of wages.—Labourers are employed for the day or for the year. In the latter case Rs. 25 per annum is paid to boys and Rs. 50 per annum to men. For daily labourers the wage is three to four annas to men; 1½ to 2 annas to women; 1 to 1¼ annas to children; this may be paid in grain or money, or half in money and half in grain. The only perquisites are at harvest time. Thus for each crop, the yearly labourer receives 8 or 12 seers; on the whole 1 bag nearly. In festivals, they are given only meals and nothing more.

Current prices—

	RS.	A.	P.
Paddy per bag of 166 lb.	5	8	0
Cholam "	9	1	6
Gingelly "	12	8	0
Red gram "	8	6	0
Kambu "	9	6	0
Soap nuts "	7	8	0
Ghee, per tin...	18	0	0

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438 at a reduced price, generally 13 to 15 rupees per candy, while the
249 market price in summer will be Rs. 23 to 29 per candy. Last year, owing to the appearance of a competing company, Messrs. Simpson & Co., the price was Rs. 35 to 42 per candy. No interest is charged for such debts. (3) They invariably use false stones in weighing the jaggery in the fields, while in the village the company's stones are used. This results in an enormous profit.

With these three sources of profit, the private capitalist is able to realize a profit of Rs. 5 at least per cart (of 8 bags) while daily he sends 3 carts at least to the company's agent. The total export of the village during the summer will be from 17,000 to 20,000 bags; this year (1917) it is 18,000 bags, i.e., 6,000 candies.

556 The rich capitalist makes the largest profit out of this[1] trade. Many of the villagers are now a class of capitalists, great or small. Many that were poor three or four years ago are now able to invest a few hundreds and start independent businesses in this line. There are three people who invested about Rs. 30,000 each this year.

465 The toddy tappers are not materially better off. As a class they are only a little above the level of absolute poverty, while individually, there are only four or five who own a property of Rs. 500. Though their gross earnings are from Rs. 20 to 25 for the three months, the net income will be Rs. 6 to 8 only.

The village barber and washerman earn at least Rs. 30 to 35 during the three months. The lime dealer earns 50 to 60 rupees. The Pariahs who carry firewood get wages at the rate of 4 annas to 6 annas per day. Owners of carts get rent at the rate of Rs. 2 per turn to carry jaggery from the field-huts to Nidadavolu, the headquarters of the company. Makers of tin-pots, used in boiling the toddy, get 100 to 150 rupees. Pariah women prepare baskets of palmyra leaves to hold the jaggery, for which they are paid Re. 1 per 100. Brahmans are employed to prepare the accounts and are paid Rs. 10 per mensem.

Besides these payments for services rendered (which are in the shape of jaggery in most cases) there are certain extra perquisites or "mamuls" which the toddy tapper is compelled to pay. These illegitimate exactions mount up to thousands of rupees. The village servants also get presents, while the coolies are profited by carrying
[545] rice or other articles to the fields. There are many small shops opened by retail traders in the fields themselves for the benefit of the tappers; while the performance of two or three dramas, based on some popular mythological story by country actors is not of rare occurrence.

464 The effects on the village are innumerable and many sided. One of the greatest difficulties for the Indian labourer is want of proper employment; it is no exaggeration to say that many families are reduced to poverty, simply for want of sufficient local demand for their labour. This village is to a certain extent relieved of this anxiety during a season when, the fields being fallow, they have no agricultural occupation to attend to. Many a poor family would have long ago left the village but for this attraction. Industrially, it has raised the efficiency of every craft, by providing it with more work to turn out. While in all the other seasons the whole village is entirely agricultural in character, in summer it can be said to be industrial and commercial in tone.

[1] [i.e., jaggery. -- Analyst]